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QUESTION OF EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ON AND INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Report of the Secretary-General

Addendum

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ALGERIA

[Original: French]

[16 July 1993]

1. In December 1979, Algeria, together with nine other States Members of the United Nations, took the initiative of including in the agenda for the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. At that time, Algeria, with 13 other States, sponsored a draft resolution which proposed an increase in the size of the Security Council to 21 members, including the allocation to Africa of five non-permanent seats.

2. Because of its continuing interest in the strengthening of the role of the principal organs of the United Nations and the democratization of international relations, Algeria welcomes the open and action-oriented manner in which the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council has been finally taken up. This augurs well for a general acceptance of qualitative changes in both the structure and the methods of operation of the Security Council.

3. Algeria wishes to emphasize the importance it attaches to the satisfactory completion of the exercise of collective thinking initiated on this subject, whose timeliness is accentuated by the profound changes wrought in the pattern of international relations and the composition of the United Nations, now approaching universality.

4. The movement of democratization, which has engendered a significant qualitative evolution in the institutional and political life of almost all the States Members of the United Nations, underpins a general trend towards equal opportunity for taking part in decision-making and the implementation of decisions, both at the level of the national communities and at that of the international community as it operates within the United Nations system. The democratization movement, which is becoming a distinctive feature of today's world, seems naturally destined to shape the functioning of the United Nations system in general and of its restricted-membership bodies in particular.

5. The Security Council is the supreme example of a body whose functioning crystallizes the hopes and frustrations of States and public opinion. Given the dysfunctions which have impaired its effectiveness and undermined its authority, the adjustment of its methods at a time when the return of multilateralism to favour assigns a particularly important role to the Security Council in international life, would be the acid test of how receptive the United Nations is to the democratization movement and how capable it is of adapting to the new course of international relations.

6. Owing to this necessity of enabling the largest possible number of States to take part in decision-making on international peace and security questions and because the extent to which the Security Council is representative of the international community, on whose behalf it acts, must be increased, it seems both beneficial and essential to envisage the reform of the Security Council from the triple standpoint of its membership, its functioning and its

relationships, both with certain other principal United Nations organs and with a number of regional organizations which assist or may assist the Council in the accomplishment of its tasks.

A. Need to increase the number of non-permanent members

7. The enlargement of the Security Council from 11 to 15 members took place when international relations had a conflictual structure and the United Nations had only 113 Members. The balance sought at that time was achieved because of a relative underrepresentation of the regional groups to which the developing countries belong, beginning with Africa. The decolonization movement and the action of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) made of Africa a homogeneous and sizeable geopolitical unit that was faced with multidimensional problems frequently having a direct impact on international peace and security.

8. Apart from the concern for a dynamic proportional relationship between the membership of the United Nations and that of the Security Council, and over and above other pertinent numerical data, the spirit of cooperation and solidarity which has replaced in the Council the operating methods of a few years ago augurs well for a more equitable approach in the form of the enlargement of the geopolitical base of the Council so as to give rise to a more representative and more effective body.

9. The priority of this matter, given the necessity of equitable representation on the Security Council, calls for the following dual objective to be achieved in conditions compatible with the nature and scope of the prerogatives of the Security Council: correcting the obvious imbalances in the structure of the Council's current membership in view of the requirement of equitable geographical representation, and reflecting the considerable increase in the number of States Members of the United Nations. In this respect, Algeria feels bound to emphasize the obvious underrepresentation of Africa on the Council and the consequent need for a substantial increase in the number of seats to be assigned to the African continent in all of the possible scenarios.

B. Question of permanent members

10. The question of the increase of the number of members of the Security Council with a view to equitable representation poses, as a corollary, the question of the status of permanent members of the Security Council and also that of the scope of amendments to or revision of the Charter of the United Nations which would be required and for which prior political consensus would be indispensable.

11. The status of permanent member of the Security Council was created by special historical circumstances. Equally special responsibilities and prerogatives are vested in the permanent members by the Charter, as drafted by the 51 founder States, including prerogatives with respect to the entry into force of any amendment to the Charter itself.

12. Since there would have to be general consensus of opinion on the principle of any increase in the number of permanent members of the Security Council and

on the prerogatives of any new permanent members in reference to those of the five current permanent members, the granting of such a status to new States should be the result of mature deliberation in a process that not only takes into account the realities of today's world but also bases itself on innovative criteria that will meet with the widest possible degree of acceptance in the international community. From this standpoint, an equitable balance between developed countries and developing countries should be achieved among States destined to become permanent members of the Council, with factors inherent in economic power or contributory financial capacity being duly assigned relative weights.

13. On the subject of innovative criteria, it should be stated that the resources of regional organizations, such as OAU, could be tapped in regard to permanent representation on the Security Council. Through arrangements yet to be determined, they could establish the means of rotation of the States that would fill the permanent seats assigned to groups of States members of a given regional organization. Representation of the various forms of culture and civilization could also be combined with the establishment of permanent representation for regional political groupings and interregional support frameworks. As to the application of these innovative criteria and the implementation of the specific arrangements to which they would give rise, the will and the ability to contribute to the discharge of the Security Council's functions should be the criteria governing the selection of States which would periodically represent the entities holding permanent seats.

C. Functioning of the Security Council

14. Any general agreement on the enlargement of the Security Council would gain by being extended and strengthened through the adoption of appropriate forms of additional measures designed to enhance the effectiveness and transparency of the Council's functioning and the objectivity of its decisions. In this same vein, the Council could be encouraged to accommodate to a greater extent the contributions of non-member States in the informal stages of its work and to provide adequate information on negotiations in private meetings.

15. The following are the reforms which have the potential to revitalize the Security Council and the United Nations: adjusting the conditions of exercise of the rule of unanimity of permanent members, giving the General Assembly effective powers to supervise and monitor the activity of the Security Council, ensuring that the Council resorts frequently to the opinions of the International Court of Justice, and taking full advantage of opportunities for cooperation with the regional organizations.

16. Algeria considers that it is highly desirable and appropriate that all aspects of the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council should be discussed in an open-ended forum with a view to the preparation by consensus of recommendations, including recommendations on the amendments to be made to the Charter. The adoption of such amendments would gain in solemnity if it could coincide with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations.

CANADA

[Original: English]

[21 July 1993]

1. The paragraphs below provide Canadian views in response to the request contained in General Assembly resolution 47/62 seeking views of Member States on the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council.

2. Canada has two priorities in terms of Security Council reform. The first is to ensure that the Security Council functions with cohesion and effectiveness. The second is that the composition of the Council should better reflect the current configuration of the United Nations membership. Council effectiveness must be the touchstone by which all reform is measured. In this regard, much can be done to improve existing procedures, regardless of future changes in the composition of the Security Council.

3. Broad support for Security Council action is a sine qua non condition of its legitimacy. Thus, cooperation among Security Council members and between Council members and other Member States is essential.

4. In this regard, there should be greater consultation between Council members and interested non-members before and during consideration of issues by the Council. As well, there should be increased opportunities for interested non-Council members to take part in Council debates.

5. Furthermore, consultations between troop contributors to United Nations peace-keeping operations and the Security Council are also essential to ensure that the mandates envisaged enjoy broad support and to encourage the continued participation of troop contributors in such operations.

6. Any increase in the number of permanent or non-permanent seats should be based on the existing criteria for membership. The considerations laid down in Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations provide essential guidance: in the first instance, due regard should be paid to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization.

7. The Security Council will only retain its value if it remains small enough to be effective. However, the composition of the Council could better reflect current realities.

8. In particular, the creation of a limited number of permanent seats to be assigned singly or in rotation should be pursued in order to reflect the emergence since 1945 of a number of Member States as major participants in international relations, bearing in mind the need for geographic balance within the Council.

9. The further creation of a limited number of non-permanent seats should also be envisaged so as to ensure better access to the Council by the broader membership, in particular States making a significant contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. In this connection, the

provisions of Article 23 barring re-election of non-permanent members could be repealed in order to increase the options available to the membership.

10. While improvements in the Council's transparency and openness to other Member States can be achieved quickly, changes in Security Council composition will require the forging of a consensus among Member States, which may take time. Canada favours taking the time necessary to bring about beneficial adjustments to the Council's composition in order to consolidate broad support for the actions of the Council.

GREECE

[Original: English]

[19 July 1993]

1. There are several important factors which justify the restructuring of the Security Council. It is nearly 50 years since the end of the Second World War and the foundation of the United Nations. The composition of the Security Council reflected political realities at that time. The number of non-permanent members was increased in 1965 in order to represent more fairly the growing international community. It is appropriate to examine now changes in the composition of the permanent members and to include among them States which exert a major influence in world affairs and whose inclusion would give more clout to the Security Council.

2. Such changes should safeguard the new-found ability of the Security Council to take and implement decisions and to intervene when peace is threatened. It would be counter-productive to include new permanent members in order to enhance the influence of the Council, if the new members do not participate in a way commensurate with their responsibility for safeguarding world peace. Enlargement of the Security Council should not, in other words, weaken the role attributed to the main organ of the United Nations by its Charter to which the Security Council has only recently been able to respond.

3. To the extent possible, the changes should attempt to allow major regions of the world to feel represented in the Security Council. A just distribution of new permanent seats would permit the closer involvement of all Members of the world body in its decision-making and thus increase their acceptability.

INDONESIA

[Original: English]

[13 July 1993]

1. As a co-sponsor of General Assembly resolution 47/62 adopted on 11 December 1992, Indonesia is committed to the restructuring and reform of the Security Council. This has become imperative primarily due to the profound changes on the international landscape, the resurgence of confidence in the United Nations and especially in the Council's increasingly important role in

the maintenance of international peace and security. It is realized, however, that such a process should be carried out with caution and circumspection as it impinges upon some of the fundamental aspects of the Organization's purposes and functions.

2. In 1946, the United Nations had 51 Members, six of which were non-permanent members of the Security Council. In 1965, when the membership had grown to 113, there was a corresponding increase to 10 in the non-permanent members. Even at that time, it was felt that the Council was lacking in its representative character. But despite the fact that more than a quarter century has elapsed and during that time the membership has reached 183, there has been no comparable increase, which has rendered it even more unbalanced and inequitable. These overriding considerations call for a serious review and reappraisal of the Council's membership in order to promote a more equitable and balanced representation. The resulting expansion would strengthen the Council by making it more responsive and relevant to prevailing realities, facilitate the participation of small- and medium-sized States, which constitute a majority in the Organization, and thereby contribute to the enhancement of its credibility and moral authority. Such an expansion would also facilitate the accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly and ensure that the Council conforms to its mandate as defined in the Charter of the United Nations and does not encroach upon the jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Assembly.

3. Indonesia is also firmly of the view that an increase in the membership of the Security Council should accommodate new Members which, if they are not to be given veto powers, should at least serve as permanent members. They should join the Council on the basis of a combination of appropriate criteria that would adequately reflect the political, economic and demographic realities of the world today, including in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Council should include countries which were on the losing side of the Second World War but which subsequently have begun to play an increasingly important role in the global economy. They are not less important in the context of the changing concept of security which now emphasizes the economic and social aspects as much as the military. It is also axiomatic that international security and prosperity can be promoted effectively and equitably by according recognition to the political and economic weight of the developing countries, particularly those among them with the largest populations. Such a judicious approach, besides one based on equitable geographic distribution, would, we believe, ensure a more representative character of the Council.

4. It may also be timely and pertinent to undertake a constructive review of the veto powers so as not to perpetuate imbalances and discriminatory treatment in the United Nations. The veto powers, which ensure an exclusive and dominant role for the permanent members of the Council, are incompatible with the ongoing endeavours aimed at reforming and improving certain structures and procedures of the United Nations as an essential component in efforts to strengthen multilateralism.

5. Finally, the procedures and practices of the Security Council also call for an urgent review. For instance, the annual reports to the General Assembly should contain an analysis and evaluation of the decisions taken by the Security Council rather than a mere descriptive account. The General Assembly should be kept informed at regular intervals of the outcome of informal consultations as

the need for greater openness and transparency in the Council's deliberations has become self-evident.

6. The Government of Indonesia hopes that the consensus now emerging among the Members of the United Nations concerning the reform and restructuring of the Security Council would be given concrete expression during the fiftieth commemoration of the founding of the Organization.

JORDAN

[Original: Arabic]

[12 July 1993]

1. The Second World War resulted in a kind of international balance that was reflected in the membership of the Security Council, then composed of 11 members, 5 permanent and 6 non-permanent.

2. The increase in the membership of the United Nations led in 1965 to an increase in the non-permanent members of the Security Council from 6 to 10, in order that the Council should become more representative of reality.

3. In the past two years, the membership of the United Nations has increased to 183 States, which makes it imperative to effect fresh changes in the composition of the Security Council so as to reflect the new reality and make the Council more representative.

4. Following the end of the cold war and the beginning of a new era in the international political reality, a new factor has emerged that has altered the concept of international security, which has evolved so as to be no longer restricted to the maintenance of a military balance between the nuclear-weapon States but also related to the economic and developmental reality of States and to the condition of interdependence which the world is experiencing. We therefore feel that this reality and this new security concept should be reflected in the membership of the Security Council. Accordingly, Jordan proposes the following:

(a) Japan and Germany should be made permanent members of the Council, by reason of their economic capacities and their contributions to the various activities of the United Nations in the service of the Organizations's security and development aims.

(b) The developing countries of the South have become the second pole in the world today, assuming that the first pole is the industrialized North. Differences between North and South have engendered - and continue to engender - many major problems, and this has had an ongoing impact on international peace and security. We therefore need a new kind of balance, namely, a North-South balance. Since the North now has a monopoly over permanent membership in the Security Council, we seek a balance, and, as we are committed to the concept of complementarity in the service of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, it is necessary to ensure representation on the Council to all three southern continents: Asia, Africa and Latin America.

(c) The permanent members whose addition is proposed must enjoy all the powers of permanent membership laid down in the Charter, including the right of veto, because that, in our opinion, would bring about equitable representation, as well as imposing a kind of cooperation between Member States, particularly the permanent members.

5. In order for the Council to be able to work in the best and speediest manner, it is necessary for the number of non-permanent members to be increased. There must also be a change in the procedure for distributing seats among geographical regions, in order to achieve more equitable and more balanced representation that takes greater account of the diversity of States.

6. We should like here to propose that the number of non-permanent members be increased to 15, to be selected as follows:

(a) Four members from Asia, distributed as follows:

(i) One member representing Eastern and South-East Asia;

(ii) One member representing Western Asia;

(iii) One member representing Central Asia;

(iv) One member representing the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand;

(b) Five members from Africa, distributed as follows:

(i) Three members from north of the equator;

(ii) Two members from south of the equator;

(c) Three members from the Americas, distributed as follows:

(i) Two members representing North and Central America and the Caribbean;

(ii) One member representing South America;

(d) Three members representing Europe, distributed as follows:

(i) One member representing Eastern Europe;

(ii) One member representing Northern Europe;

(iii) One member representing Western Europe.

7. We believe that this geographical division would give us a more balanced representation of the continents.

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

[Original: Arabic]

[8 June 1993]

INTRODUCTION

1. The United Nations Charter confers on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 24 of the United Nations Charter states that the Council shall act on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations in the discharge of its duties in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

2. The Charter was approved in an international situation that was totally different from the current one, and the challenges confronting international peace and security at the current stage of international relations, which emerged following the end of the cold war and the disappearance of international equilibrium based on bipolarity, require a new approach capable of dealing with them. There is now a more urgent need than at any time in the past to review the Charter, particularly representation on the Security Council, so as to make the Charter reflect the current realities of international relations and capable of coping with the new international situation. The most important of these realities are as follows:

(a) The more than threefold increase in the membership of the United Nations between the adoption of the Charter and the present.

(b) Respect for the principle of equal sovereignty of States and equal rights and obligations in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter make it necessary to review the right of veto.

(c) The principle of collective security with the participation of all States, regardless of their military strength, their economic and social development or the size of their population, is based on the safeguarding of international peace and security.

(d) The steady increase of trends towards the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of peace and security in the world and emphasis on the importance of according an active role to regional organizations in this field, in accordance with Articles 52, 53 and 54 of the Charter.

(e) The strengthening of trends towards the building of a new international order in which there will prevail full respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter and the achievement of the common well-being in a just and comprehensive way that puts an end to fraudulence and discrimination among nations and peoples.

(f) Disappearance of the conditions that gave rise to permanent membership in the Security Council for certain States and gave them the right of veto. Now that nearly half a century has passed since the adoption of the Charter, new States have emerged on the international arena as economic, political and demographic forces, and the role of other States that once represented colonial

empires with interests and influence not only at the regional level but at the international level, has dwindled.

(g) The liquidation of old-style colonialism is almost completed, and the efforts of the international community to eliminate racist and settler-colonialist regimes are being intensified. There has been a détente in international relations following the end of the so-called "cold-war".

I. INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

3. The Libyan Aran Jamahiriya has been calling, since the middle 1970s, for a review of the Charter and in particular of the veto. This call was not launched in a vacuum but was based on realistic arguments and a clear political view, the soundness of which is proven by the changes that have occurred since the beginning of the 1970s. In spite of the inconclusive reception of these serious and sincere efforts, which were submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth and fortieth sessions, the General Assembly's adoption by consensus of resolution 47/62 at its forty-seventh session restored a glimmer of hope for those efforts with the discussion of the review of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council.

4. Accordingly, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the expansion of the membership of the Security Council (by the addition of non-permanent members) so that this increase will reflect the number of States Members of the United Nations and take into consideration the equitable geographical representation of regional groups (continents) that are the least represented at the current time.

II. STRENGTHENING THE ROLE AND ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

5. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya stresses the importance of carrying out a comprehensive review of the Charter in a way that will lead to the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security, inasmuch as this is a joint responsibility of all States Members of the United Nations. Such a review should reflect the new developments that have taken place during the half-century since the establishment of the Organization. At the same time, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya accords the utmost importance to enhancing the role and effectiveness of the Security Council. Accordingly, the Jamahiriya has submitted a proposal to this effect to the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization at its 1993 session (document A/AC.182/1993/CRP.1).

6. There is a close link between the question of equitable representation on the Security Council, on the one hand, and strengthening the role of the Council and enhancing its effectiveness, on the other. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya therefore stresses the importance of finding ways and means to strengthen the role of the Security Council in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security and considering the elimination of the negative influences

that prevent the Council's performance of the tasks entrusted to it under the Charter. In this connection, it emphasizes the following:

(a) Abolition of the veto in the Security Council, because the veto represents an absence of equality of sovereignty among States and is contrary to the principle of democracy. It accords a right to a small number of States and enables them to paralyse any action that the Council wishes to take where such action conflicts with their interest or the interests of their allies, in disregard of the wishes of the States Members of the United Nations on whose behalf they are acting.

(b) Identification of those non-procedural matters in which the use of the veto can be suspended or restricted, for example, where this right is invoked to defend acts of aggression, occupation or injustice.

(c) Establishment of measures to eliminate the apprehensions and manifest concern that result from the policy of double standards in the Council's positions and its adoption of selective and discriminatory resolutions on some questions.

(d) Reorientation of the work of the Security Council so that it may play the role entrusted to it on behalf of Member States in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. This reorientation should comprise, in particular:

(i) Implementation of the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter with regard to questions that affect the interests of States not members of the Council. Non-resort by the Council to informal consultations except on the smallest scale, since this procedure, which has prevailed in the Council's work over the last two years, has been exploited by some permanent members for the purpose of imposing their views and carrying through their schemes.

(ii) Barring participation in the vote by any State party to a dispute that is submitted to the Council (implementation of paragraph 3 of Article 27 of the Charter).

(iii) Revitalization of the Military Staff Committee, according its members the role laid down in Article 46, expanding the membership of the Committee and not confining it to the permanent members.

(iv) Eliminating the contradiction arising from the implementation of collective security measures in the event of the occurrence of aggression, on the one hand, and the right of a permanent member to use the veto on a question in which it has a direct interest, on the other.

LUXEMBOURG

[Original: French]

[12 July 1993]

1. In 1992 the General Assembly, at its forty-seventh session, adopted resolution 47/62, entitled "Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council". The resolution requested the Secretary-General to invite Member States to submit written comments on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council.

2. First, Luxembourg wishes to stress the critical role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter, which confers "primary responsibility" on the Council in this regard. Luxembourg notes with satisfaction that in recent years the Security Council has discharged its mandate with a new level of effectiveness, as indicated by the number and significance of the peace-keeping operations which have been conducted as well as by the conflicts which have been resolved through collective action by the Council. More recently, however, the lack of progress in certain important operations indicates the difficulty of conducting peace-keeping operations and the limitations on the capacity of the United Nations to take action.

3. Further, Luxembourg notes the increasing pressure to review the membership of the Security Council. A debate on this matter was held at the forty-sixth and forty-seventh sessions of the General Assembly, and concluded in the adoption of resolution 47/62.

4. Since the most recent increase in the membership of the Security Council in 1963, the number of Members of the Organization has grown considerably. It is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain that the membership of the Council adequately reflects post-cold-war realities or that it properly accommodates all those countries exercising worldwide influence and responsibilities.

5. While it thus appears desirable to review the membership of the Council, it is imperative, in any review exercise, to ensure that the effectiveness of the Council is maintained, and, indeed, increased.

6. In the circumstances and taking into account the current stage of European integration, Luxembourg supports the principle of a limited and prudent review of the membership of the Security Council.

7. Any reform must pay due regard to the criteria provided for in Article 23 of the Charter relating to the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council, namely:

(a) The contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization;

(b) Equitable geographical distribution.

8. It should be emphasized that any reform of the Security Council must not take place at the expense of the non-permanent members of the Council.

9. Any reform must be by agreement of all Member States, and, in particular, the current permanent members, and must be implemented and ratified in accordance with Chapters XVIII and XIX of the Charter.

10. Lastly, the existence of non-military threats to peace and security, which are today increasingly recognized and whose origins lie in instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological spheres, must lead to a strengthening of the activities of the other organs and agencies of the United Nations with responsibilities in those fields as well as to closer relations between those bodies and the Security Council. It must also be made possible for the United Nations to act effectively in the fields of activity defined by the Group of Seven (G-7) principal industrialized countries.

POLAND

[Original: English]

[21 July 1993]

1. Poland supports all efforts aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations and enhancing its effectiveness and efficiency. A vast untapped potential in this regard is still embodied in the United Nations Charter itself. First and foremost, the Charter should be implemented consistently, and its application adapted to the realities and challenges of the contemporary world. This includes the possibility of considering an adjustment of the structures and functions of the United Nations, including its main organs as necessary.

2. Poland follows with keen interest the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. Any developments in this regard are of crucial importance to the United Nations in the years to come, especially to its ability to maintain and strengthen international peace and security. Proposals concerning the membership of the Security Council should be preceded by a thorough and just assessment of all the aspects of its role in the new political, economic and social post-cold-war environment. In the view of Poland, the Security Council has recently become increasingly effective in discharging its functions and powers. Any reform of its functioning and membership must not impede this process.

3. Poland is ready to give careful consideration to the views of other States concerning the need to adjust the United Nations structures and mechanisms, especially the Security Council, to the changing international situation and the substantial increase in the membership of the Organization. Poland takes a constructive approach with regard to the aspirations of those Member States which might markedly increase their contribution to the attainment of the objectives of the Organization if they are offered an enhanced status within the Council. However, any expansion of the membership of the Security Council must not reduce the special responsibility of the permanent members and the existing status of non-permanent members. It must also ensure an equitable geographical

representation (taking into account all regional groups recognized in the United Nations) and continuation of the well-established decision-making procedures.

4. It is equally important to ensure that any expansion of the Security Council meets also the aspirations and interests of medium-size States. While considering this question, due attention should be given not only to the population of such States and their economic strength but also to their political role in the region.

5. As to the procedure for a possible expansion of the Security Council, Poland advocates recourse to Article 108 of the Charter for the amendment of Article 23.

6. In this context, the elimination from the Charter of "enemy States" clauses (Article 107 including the relevant part of Article 53), might also be considered.

PORTUGAL

[Original: English]

[9 July 1993]

1. The Government of Portugal has noted with great satisfaction the growing authority of the United Nations since the end of the cold war and attaches particular importance to the role of the Security Council in the efforts of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security and to prevent and remove threats to peace.

2. The changes which have taken place in the international situation in the past few years for the first time enabled the Security Council to operate effectively as a collegiate body and underlined its crucial significance as the main keeper of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. As a result, the Security Council has greatly improved its possibilities of fulfilling the mandate it was entrusted with by the Charter. The Council is now being called upon to consider and to act on an ever-growing number of complex cases.

4. It is thus understandable that both the United Nations and its Member States have undertaken an in-depth analysis of the issues of the composition of the Security Council and its ability to represent, in an equitable and balanced way, the entire membership of the Organization.

5. The reform of the Security Council stems from two basic realities: on the one hand, this body does not adequately reflect the present balance of power and, on the other, the vast increase in membership of the United Nations (in 1965 the 15 members of the Council represented 113 States, whereas today they represent 183).

6. The Government of Portugal is aware that any steps taken towards an enlargement of the Council could provide an opportunity to initiate a more

thorough review of the Charter. Furthermore, it would be a considerably difficult task to select the "natural candidates" for a permanent seat in the Security Council. In both these areas, it is necessary to proceed with caution and to follow a consensual approach.

7. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the effectiveness of the Council must be preserved, so that this body retains its ability to deal with international crises.

8. In view of such arguments, the Government of Portugal believes that the following elements should be weighed in the debate that is now being initiated:

(a) An increase in the number of non-permanent members, on a one per regional group basis, could answer the calls for greater representativity of the Security Council, while ensuring a faster rotation among such groups (which should be encouraged to reach internal agreements in this respect);

(b) An increase of permanent members should reflect the will of the United Nations membership as a whole. In addition, it should benefit only those States which are in a position to assume the responsibilities entailed by that status and could contribute to the reinforcement of the role of the Council in maintaining international peace and security. Such an increase should not be to the detriment of the number of seats allotted to non-permanent members;

(c) The consolidation of the European Community as an effective political entity in international relations might, in the future, raise the issue of its own level of representation in the Council.

9. Portugal welcomes the debate on this subject and hopes that the process of reflection which began with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 47/62 will continue in a non-confrontational atmosphere and that a consensus solution can be reached, duly recognizing the complexities involved.

SAMOA

[Original: English]

[16 July 1993]

1. The Government of Samoa believes that any action to be taken on this item must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The matter of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council must be given the most careful thought, and due time must be allowed for its consideration. The question calls for the widest possible consultations among States Members of the United Nations.

3. The general question of representation on the Security Council would need to be viewed in the light of the conditions that now exist, and determined so as to reflect the reality of today. The last assessment and adjustment in the numbers of non-permanent members of the Security Council took place 30 years

ago. There would be a need to strike a balance between the numbers on the Security Council and the significantly increased membership of the Organization as a whole. The aim should be to produce a result which is both practical and realistic. Any determination of the question would therefore need to be assured the general support of the Member States, including the five permanent members of the Security Council.

4. Samoa considers that a relatively small Security Council can best ensure the prompt and effective action required of the United Nations under paragraph 1 of Article 24 of the Charter. It is of primary importance that the Security Council be allowed to function expeditiously and effectively.

5. It is necessary, however, to make allowance for the growth in the membership of the Organization, which now numbers 183 States. In 1963 when the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council was increased from 6 to 10, the United Nations membership stood at 113. The resulting and existing imbalance should be addressed. The Government of Samoa believes there is a demonstrated need for a small increase (see para. 4 above) in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council.

6. In terms of Article 24 of the Charter, the Security Council functions on behalf of all Member States. It follows that the Council should be truly representative, in numbers as well as in its geographical spread. The increase in the membership of the United Nations would seem to have put equitable representation on the Security Council at some risk, in that at least one regional group is overrepresented to the disadvantage of others. This aspect, too, would need to be carefully looked at.

7. In particular, the Government of Samoa believes that there is a valid case for some restructuring of the Security Council membership to make allowance for States which in recent years have emerged with the influence and ability to bear responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Samoa would support the creation of new permanent members for such States, but without the right to veto.

8. Samoa welcomes the non-exercise of the veto in recent years and would favour any move to have the veto institution carefully examined to see if there are new ways to regulate the exercise of the veto to avoid one permanent member, on its own, blocking the Council's decisions and resolutions.

9. With reference to paragraph 1 of Article 23 of the Charter, Samoa agrees with a broad reading of the contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security expected of Member States. This need not be restricted to the contribution of troops to collective actions or peace-keeping operations.

10. Samoa believes that the mechanisms for reports and other communications from the Security Council to the General Assembly warrant scrutiny with a view towards improvement. It is a matter of greatest importance that all Member States be properly and more substantially, and perhaps more regularly, informed of the many vital issues now being taken up and decided on by the Security Council.

SUDAN

[Original: Arabic]

[12 July 1993]

1. Radical changes have taken place in international relations since the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly with the subsidence of the cold war and the disappearance of the Eastern bloc. Such radical changes necessitate a review of the composition of the Security Council and of its working methods and relationship with the General Assembly, in accordance with the basic principles of the Charter, that can be viewed in the framework of strengthening the role of the Organization in serving the interests of the international community on a basis of justice and equality.

2. With the emergence of what has been called the new international order, there has surfaced the phenomenon of the use of double standards and of the selectivity with which the Security Council addresses general issues. This has prompted the developing countries to call for an increase in the membership of the Council in order to create places in it for themselves so that they may safeguard their interests and, in another respect, cast some light on the negative repercussion of the use of the veto.

3. Actual practice has shown that the Council as presently constituted has adopted resolutions against some States and has pursued their implementation with resolve and vigour. At the same time, it has failed to implement some of its other resolutions concerning States such as "Israel" and has been dilatory in addressing such urgent humanitarian issues as those in the former Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4. Consideration of the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council should therefore aim at achieving the following:

(a) A restoration of the international equilibrium disturbed by the waning of the cold war by establishing democratic procedures within the Council and equitable treatment of international issues without partiality, selectivity or the use of double standards;

(b) The permanent and equitable representation of all continents or geographical groups in the Council on an equal footing with permanent members. This can be achieved by increasing the membership of the Council and amending its powers so that its composition accords with the great increase in the number of States Members of the Organization;

(c) The representation of all segments of the international community in order to embody the principle of equality and justice between States in respect of rights and duties. In this connection, permanent membership of the Council should not be regarded as the privilege of certain States or as a recognition of their military, economic or political power;

(d) The mitigation of the negative repercussions of the use of the veto by the permanent members of the Council, or the introduction of essential controls

on its use preparatory to its complete abolition, so as to embody the principle of equality among States in the decision-making process and ensure democratic practice in the Council, given that the right of veto offends against the principle of one Member State, one vote.

5. As a non-aligned country, the Sudan has continued to urge the need to increase the membership of the Council to include States from all groups and (as one possible option) to assign a permanent seat to the Non-Aligned Group of States to be occupied on the basis of rotation in accordance with a mechanism to be agreed upon.

6. At the same time, the Sudan is of the view that consideration of the question of equitable representation on the Council can be expanded to include the adoption of measures to accord the General Assembly increased importance and greater powers so that it can, as the world parliament, provide a counterbalance to the weight and powers of the Security Council with a view to achieving the greatest possible degree of democracy in the functioning of the Organization. This can take the form of legal amendments on the basis of the mandates of the General Assembly and the Security Council set forth in the Charter. Consideration can also include the introduction of controls on the working procedures of the Council to prevent it from engaging in the use of double standards and in selective treatment and to achieve the desired transparency and democracy in the implementation of the provisions of the Charter.

SWEDEN

[Original: English]

[1 July 1993]

1. The States Members of the United Nations have, in the Charter of the Organization, conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. They have agreed that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf. Against this background it is essential that a possible reform of the composition of and representation on the Council be supported by all Members of the United Nations.

2. Sweden has a long-standing tradition of firm commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter and attaches utmost importance to the vital role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. Sweden is thus encouraged that the debate on a possible review of the membership of the Security Council seems to have entered into a constructive and non-confrontational phase, and is looking forward to participating actively in the forthcoming discussions with a view to arriving at a solution supported by all Member States.

3. The effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of the Security Council should be central considerations in any review of its composition. A reform must ensure that the Council continues to be relevant in a changing world, making use of new opportunities and shouldering its responsibility as new dangers and

threats appear. The Council must retain its capacity to act decisively and in a timely manner to fulfil its duties set forth in the Charter.

4. It should be borne in mind that the termination of the cold war has greatly improved the possibilities of the Security Council to function as intended in the Charter. An enlargement of the Council's membership must not impair the effective operation of the Council.

5. The Government of Sweden sees merits in a serious review of the composition of the Security Council. The global realities today are much different from those of 1945 and 1963. It is of fundamental importance that the Council can continue to be regarded as acting on behalf of and enjoying the necessary broad support from all Members of the United Nations.

6. Article 23 of the Charter, determining the composition of the Security Council, states that in electing members to the Council, due regard shall be specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

7. In the view of the Government of Sweden, any review of the membership of the Security Council should be based on the same considerations. Members of the Council, and in particular the permanent members, have a special responsibility to secure the basis for the activities of the United Nations and to contribute politically and financially as well as with civilian and military personnel to the implementation of the Council's decisions.

8. The increase in the membership of the Organization provides a case for a limited increase in the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council. Also, Members of the United Nations other than the present permanent members of the Council may have a legitimate desire to see their role and responsibilities acknowledged in the context of the composition of the Council. In both cases due regard should be paid to geographical distribution.

9. In the opinion of the Swedish Government, the number of permanent members whose concurring vote is needed for decisions on substantive matters should not be expanded.

10. It is also important that the regional groups be invited to establish appropriate systems of rotation aimed at securing a fair representation of the individual members of the group.

11. Any reform of the composition of the Council could well be accompanied by an overview of the methods of work of the Council, taking into account the collective responsibility of the members of the Council as well as the legitimate interest of non-members in consultation and information. Consideration could be given to establishing subsidiary organs in accordance with Article 29 of the Charter.

12. It is essential that the discussion on the future composition of the Security Council, which originates from the desire of Member States to take and share responsibility, should be concluded as soon as possible in order to

maintain confidence in the actions of the present Council. Great care should therefore be taken to achieve constructive and concrete results on this matter, bearing in mind the complexities involved.

VENEZUELA

[Original: Spanish]

[22 July 1993]

I. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL SETTING AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1. The multiple and dynamic changes that have occurred in recent decades at the global level have radically transformed the vision of the world that arose from the post-war period, and had a forceful impact on the international system, particularly as regards the United Nations and the Security Council. One manifestation of this change is the increase in the membership of the United Nations, which has risen from the original 51 to the present 183 States.

2. Most of the organs and structures of the United Nations system, including the Security Council itself, have evolved and have adapted to those changes; in 1963, the Council increased in membership from 11 to 15, seeking thereby to ensure greater representativity and a better and more equitable geographical distribution. Nevertheless, some of the rules of the game, notably the number of permanent members and so-called power of veto, remained unchanged.

3. It is now generally agreed that there is a need to move ahead towards further reforms in the United Nations system, for although the latter has proved its effectiveness and has grown stronger, additional transformations are required with a view to reinvigorating its role and building a more efficient Organization, one which recognizes the complexity of the present-day world and acknowledges the diversity of interests that exist. That is particularly true of the Security Council, which acts in the name of all Member States and has been assigned primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

II. INCREASE IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

4. Given the changes that have occurred, it is now felt that the Security Council should adapt to the new international setting, one reason being that the increased membership of the Organization has created an imbalance between the General Assembly (183 members) and the Security Council (15 members), and has deprived States Members of the United Nations of the opportunity to become members of the Security Council, affected the principles of representativity and respect for sovereign equality, and weakened the legitimacy of the decisions adopted. These decisions, while increasingly costly and complex for all countries, are taken by a mere handful of States, and there is, moreover, no effective system whereby the General Assembly can exercise supervision and control.

5. Consequently, Venezuela is in favour of increasing the membership of the Security Council and adopting a new scheme which would introduce a system of rotation in categories of members, according to the criteria of equality of opportunity, equitable geographical distribution and representativity, based on diversity of interests, and, at the same time, strengthen the legitimacy of decisions, guarantee their efficiency and ensure the prompt and effective action referred to in Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations. Venezuela is thereby maintaining the position it adopted in 1945, at the San Francisco Conference, when it expressed the hope that the formula adopted concerning the functions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly would evolve in due course into modalities that were more democratic and representative of nations as a whole.

III. QUESTION OF THE VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

6. We agree that, while taking steps with respect to the need to increase the membership of the Security Council, it is necessary concurrently to open a debate on the question of the veto and review thereof; Venezuela has repeatedly emphasized this matter, although historically we believe the right of veto to be an extraordinary power that arose from exceptional circumstances and was designed to consolidate and preserve the United Nations. Today this reality has been superseded and therefore it is necessary to consider the issue of the veto, perceived as anachronistic, anti-democratic and contrary to the basic principle that all States Members of the United Nations have equal rights and duties.

7. On these bases, Venezuela hopes to participate in the consideration of this question, guided by a constructive spirit and inspired by the desire to make its contribution to strengthening the role of the Security Council as the principal instrument designed to preserve international peace and security. We are fully aware of what a review of the veto power will entail and of the risks to which the system may be exposed; however, we believe that the time has come to move towards more democratic procedures in the adoption of decisions that affect us all, and that this cannot be the exclusive responsibility of a handful of States.

8. We are convinced that the new international setting - in which, although peace has gained ground over war, danger still persists - requires a Security Council which takes decisions by more democratic means, thereby rendering them more universal, acceptable and legitimate, a Security Council in which no one has exclusive and discriminatory rights. Consequently, Venezuela believes that so exclusive a privilege as the right of veto must be reviewed, particularly since the members of the Security Council - permanent and non-permanent alike - act on behalf of all States Members of the United Nations and are not prompted by their own interests.